000 three banana trees.

192 [53] INKAMWA. When the father of a family dies, one of
764 his sons or grandsons is chosen to put between his hands a jug of
231 milk. The cow that has given this milk is called inkamwa. It is given to the one who has placed the jug of milk between the hands of the deceased and is not included in the division of the inheritance.

This cow cannot be sold or killed. Its young are not subject to this interdiction. If it dies, it is eaten by the Bahutu in the owner's rugo, and its bones are buried there.

Among the Bahutu a sheep is used as the inkamwa.

IY'UMUGANGU. When the father of a family dies, the eldest son slaughters a bull calf, which is eaten by the family. The skin is worn by the eldest son for two months so that the cows will not die like their master.

192 IY'UMULIRO and INSHUMBUSHANYO. 1) If lightning has
231 destroyed the herd (or even one animal) held by the umugaragu, the
731 latter can obtain from his shebuja the umuliro (lit., the fire cow), either a cow or a bull calf.

When several cows are given by the patron to indemnify his client, the first one is called umuliro, the others inshumbushanyo.

425 2) If the patron deprives his client of his whole herd to punish him
231 for not performing one of his obligations, the umugaragu begs the protection of another shebuja who gives his new dependent a cow and a bull calf or only a bull calf.

192 IMPONOKE. When the herd of the patron, the provincial chief,
731 or the king is decimated by cattle plague (muryamo), the abagaragu
231 give some cows to fill the gaps caused by the epizootic disease.

[54] INDORANO (1). At the death of the king's child, wife,

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1. From kurora, "to see."

brother, and also in the case of death in a great chief's family, the provincial chiefs and the hill chiefs, if they are directly subject to the Mwami, each bring two cows to the Mwâmi, and only one in the other event. A cow is also given by the abagaragu. The cow given to a friend on the occasion of deep mourning is also called indorano.

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 771 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," 171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose [766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

769 This explains his invocations, offerings, and libations before the hood-shaped shelter that contains the angered spirit who was pointed out to him.

784 The Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is bound by the law of taboos (imiziro).

He may not smoke or sit on a chair during a thunderstorm. A woman may not use a billhook to cut grass. She may eat only cow meat. The flesh of certain animals is forbidden, /56/ in some cases to every Munyarwanda, in others to certain clans only. The objects used by a deceased person and the food that was in the hut at the time of his death are taboo. At the end of the mourning period, all these things will be purified with lustral water. The widow herself will have to go through the rites of purification.

Work is forbidden on certain days. The relatives of a deceased person give up all their occupations for four or five days.

Upon the death of the king, all work in the fields is prohibited for three months. In certain parts of Ruanda, one stops work for one day when a child is born, when a hut has burned down, when there has been a hailstorm, even when a dog has died. Some taboos only affect the king.

763 The burial method peculiar to the Banyarwanda, which incidentally is shared by other African peoples, must now be mentioned. When a sick person is about to die and spreads his arms and legs, his relatives bring his knees up to the chin. His arms are bent at the elbows and his hands are made to cover his face.

764 This crouching position is the absolute rule among pagans. It is not far-fetched to state that this most uncomfortable position, when forced on a dying person, makes breathing very difficult and shortens his last moments.

[824] In the right hand of the deceased, one places the leaves of plants with magical properties, ishoza, umulembe, umwishwa, seeds of squash, sorghum, and issogi, and lamb's wool. All these things are symbols explained by the following words pronounced on this occasion, "Return to us as a limb (with the sweetness of a lamb)! Return to us without thorns (like the plants, soft to the touch, that we have given thee), that is to say, without mean intentions."

764 His relatives leave him victuals and a few utensils for the long trip to the netherland. They attend to his needs but ask him in return not to come and torment them. /57/ This is an ethnic custom which the Blacks observe with great faithfulness, so much so that if death occurs unbeknownst to them, they will do everything possible to bring the body to this crouching position. They will even use a cutting instrument to force the limbs into the desired posture. "To give the dead the shape of a basket (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo)" is the Runyaruanda expression used to describe this procedure. In so doing the Blacks believe that they are performing an act of filial reverence. It would be a lack of respect toward the dead not to fold their legs. "You bury your dead as straight and stiff as sticks," the pagans used to exclaim at first when they reproached Christians for no longer following the native customs.

The body is wrapped in a mat and tied in order to maintain the prescribed shape. The twine is cut only at the burial ground. The body is buried so that the face lies on its right side (1).

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1. The funeral rites practiced at the death of a Hamitic prince are totally different from those of the Bahutu. The royal corpse is mummified and dried under the action of fire. The undertakers who are in charge of this follow a complex and strange etiquette. Cf. Book IV, Chapter VII.

600 The dead of the Mousterian and Aurignacian eras were found buried in the sleeping position, with their face resting on the right side, while during the Magdalenian era the face of the dead rests on the left side. The Egyptians and Nasamon of Tripolitania proceeded approximately in the same manner.

"The body (of an Egyptian)," says Dr. Weisgerber, "usually lay on the left side (head to the south), with legs folded, knees brought up near the chest, hands on the face or neck....

000 "Herodotus," the same author goes on to say, "tells us that the Nasamon who lived in Tripolitania buried their dead in a crouching position. They took good care /58/ that a dying person, when about to give up the ghost, should be made to sit up and prevented from lying down...." (1)

1. Dr. Weisgerber, Les Blancs d'Afrique /The Whites of Africa/, pp. 309 and 310.

121 Déchelette says that it is not possible to explain the origin of this custom of folding up the corpse. Several conjectures have been offered about it.

1. Identification of the corpse with a fetus (symbolic embryonic position). The deceased returns to the womb of the mother, who will bring him back to life (belief of the Peruvians and Hottentots).

2. Practice performed for practical reasons, so as to reduce the dimensions of the funeral container (or grave).

3. Feeling of terror which the dead inspired in the living (possible origin of the tying process) (2).

2. Joseph Déchelette, Manuel d'Archéologie prehistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine /Handbook of Prehistoric, Celtic, and Gallo-Roman Archeology/, Vol. 1, p. 473.

●764 In some parts of Ruanda the relatives of the deceased, after preparing the grave, dig to one side and at the bottom of the pit a sort of chamber where the body is laid. They are obviously moved by respect for the dead whose body, thus placed, is not crushed by the weight of the earth.

Others cover the mortal remains with a layer of grass to prevent direct contact with the soil and to allay the weight [of the earth].

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

644 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the
484 Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in cer-
619 tain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the

[764]

1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard
484 of Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

527 As we can see, the origins of this practice are obscure. Could a trace of the Sabbath or Sunday be involved here?

The hypothesis would be fairly plausible, especially if one supposes that the Batutsi originally came from Egypt or Abyssinia.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it used to be strictly observed. Many pagans who live far from European settlements still observe it today. Like their ancestors, /538/ they [827] lend it a superstitious meaning. If hail should fall on that day, they would not fail to attribute it to a supernatural punishment and to place the responsibility on those who were caught breaking the rule. "One didn't hesitate," the elders relate, "to insult the delinquents, to rob them or even to strike them if need be, and it was not unusual to be taken to task, so highly was this custom regarded."

769 The great chiefs also do for the dead members of their families, proportionately speaking, what the king does for his own ancestors (1). Each of the huts which make up their homes, for usually

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1. The Bega preferably take their dead to the Budaha region, which is one of their fees. The regent Kabale and one of his favorite wives, Kirumwero, were buried in the village of Ngoma, near Gatare hill. His father Lwagara had been buried at Gisunzu, not far from Munzanga, and his brother Lwibishengo at Nyamutukura. His son Nyantabana and one of his grandsons were interred at Lwasankuba.

The Banyiginya choose their burial sites in enemy country to check invasions and to wreak evil on foreigners (Abanyamuhanga).

Before it was joined to the Crown, the isle of Idjwi served as a final

764 resting place for several important members of this clan.

Other Banyiginya were buried in Urundi and in the Bugessera province, which borders on that country. The dead sons of Musinga, who number at least five or six, rest there in their last sleep.

The deceased are usually buried in a hut. In the Budaha, the owner of a hut that served as a Mwega's tomb cannot leave the dwelling until about a year later. He is forced to remain there to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body.

769 there are several, is dedicated to a spirit in whose honor they marry a woman whom they later keep or discard, depending on their whims and fancies.

Well-off Bahutu attempt to imitate the great, but their huts [343] are usually few in number. So as not to be inferior to those they emulate in their superstitions, they build around their dwelling several tiny huts (indaro) which often consist merely of two or three sticks planted in the ground and barely bound at the top by a small band. /539/

4. The Annual Mourning Period of Fifteen Days in the Month of June, Which Ends With an Important Celebration

765 769 771 The famous annual mourning period of 15 days takes place during the last fortnight of the lunar month called by the native name of Gichurassi, which corresponds approximately to our month of June. In principle the king alone is supposed to go into mourning, but the whole court joins him for the sake of solidarity. At that time, the

5: Pages--277 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Panorama of Rulindo. The two groves which served as the last resting place for queen mothers can be seen on the heights.

133

On the border between Ruanda and the Karagwe.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the muhoko bush,

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 894.

mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous butega hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

864 Death. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (virago) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the [765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

613 835 incestuous relationships. The most serious in the inzu would be between Ego and Da or Ego and FaSi. These were said never to occur. Incest was viewed with horror as a beastly thing, a view reflected in one of the words used to describe it, *ubuhene*. The root of this word is *ihene* (goat) because, as an informant put it, only he-goats pair with their mothers and sisters. A breach of this rule was the concern of everybody in the group as it was likely to bring about calamities affecting them all.

613 476 Another duty of a member of a primary lineage *vis-à-vis* any of his kinsmen was that of rendering assistance when he was in difficulties (as for instance when a father was unable to help his son to pay bride-wealth or when the cows of a herdsman had been killed by an illness). This obligation was particularly binding when the misfortune was no fault of the victim, but even if it was, aid was often given. As has been mentioned, the lineage-head or the council usually determined the amount to be contributed by everybody. But mutual help was also an individual duty.

A kinsman could enlist the help of the wise and experienced men [692] of his inzu when he had to go to the tribunal. He was accompanied by them, and was helped not only by their advice but also and sometimes mainly by the mere fact of their moral support. The chief who was judging could see the power of the group behind the plaintiff or the defendant.

Inzu solidarity operated both actively and passively in blood-feuds. All adult kinsmen of the victim were obliged to take up arms and carry out vengeance. Kinsmen of the murderer had to defend themselves and all adult males of his inzu had to accept the risk of being killed because of their kinsman's crime.

613 764 When a member of the inzu died, all others met in the deceased's hut and watched by the corpse for eight days. After this the corpse was not buried but thrown away in some isolated place, such as the top of a rocky hill, which could be used by the people of any inzu living nearby. Mourning lasted two months for a man and one month for a woman. During that period there was a prohibition on intercourse for people very closely connected with the deceased (his son, his wife, his son's wife, his father). At the end of the mourning period all the inzu gathered together again. There was a beer-feast and obligatory intercourse for all the inzu [833] members with their own spouses. When there was no spouse, as